

THE CHRISTIAN REPLY TO WAR

"I believe that the only organisation in the world that can outlaw war is the Christian Church"

— says Dr. DONALD SOPER

Realism is needed in Anglo-Russian relations

THE Moscow Conference now seems certain to end in a complete deadlock. That is also an appropriate moment for me to retire from the post of political commentator to Peace News.

I have occupied it for nearly seven years: during which the main problem has been the relations of the West with Russia. During the first year of my commentary, it is true, they were simple enough. Russia had a pact with Germany, on the strength of which it had joined with Hitler in partitioning Poland, and had swallowed up the Baltic States. On a fateful day in 1941, to my surprise, Hitler attacked Russia. The only explanation I could give of an enterprise that seemed so foolhardy was that Hitler must have secret information which convinced him that he could annihilate the Russian army within a year. I had been so confident that Hitler, mindful of Napoleon's disaster, would not

COMMENTARY

by

John Middleton Murry

Russia as a slightly uncouth but entirely lovable giant, blundering amiably towards the New Jerusalem. A charming, but entirely fantastic vision, of a grim reality. The trouble with these sentimentalists is that they do not take Communism seriously. Having no religion, or only a very superficial one themselves, they are quite at sea when confronted with a real one, based on a profound and formidable philosophy. And in my experience the attitude of most pacifists towards Russia comes under the same condemnation. They simply refuse to believe in the reality of the Soviet régime. It is outside the range of things which they can admit to be possible.

A mutation

I SHOULD have thought that, since the curtain was lifted in Nazi Germany, pacifists would have learned that many things which they optimistically believed to be outside the range of possibility were possible and real. But evidently it is not so. I, at any rate, have learned my lesson: which is that a modern stream-lined totalitarian regime is an utterly novel and horribly efficient instrument for its own purpose, which is to change the nature of man. As Professor Hodges puts it in the current *Adelphi*, the tormenting question is whether we are not confronted in Soviet Russia with a mutation (as distinct from a variation) in the human species. Mr. Christopher Dawson puts the same question in an article in *The Month* (Jan.)

"Under the full-blown totalitarian system, there is no room for freedom whatever, and it is possible that when this has been achieved, it is irreversible, and we are faced with the new phenomenon of a society of human insects."

Formidable challenge

ALL one can really say is that the behaviour of the leaders and

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

THERE are, I've no doubt, many reasons why some of you are indifferent to religion as a whole and Christianity in particular, but surely one of those reasons is that in what you regard as the most vital issue of all, the issue of peace and war, you don't think Christianity is any help. You don't think the church counts one way or the other.

In my experience when the outsider to Christianity does get into touch with the church about peace and war, he's much more likely to come to the "Complaints Department" than to the "Enquiry Room," for he feels that he has been let down, and by the very people who professed to know the answer.

I wonder sometimes whether you good church folk, who may be reading me now, realise what a shock it has been to the man in the street to find the majority of Christian people supporting two world wars in 25 years. For, strange as it may seem, the one bit of theology that the church had been able to get over to him was that Christianity is the religion of the meek and lowly Jesus, the Prince of Peace, and whether it was practical politics or not the church ought to follow in His steps and take the consequences.

Time and time again during the last war men said to me on Tower Hill and in Hyde Park, "Christianity and war don't mix—we're not Christians and we've got to fight Hitler and all his gang, but you Christians—you ought to be Pacifists, so we've no use for bishops blessing battleships and parsons becoming recruiting officers." They had scant respect for our complicated arguments about a "just war" and the "lesser of two evils," and they weren't a bit impressed by our attempt to prove that the end must justify the means—they thought that we had compromised ourselves and we lost their respect.

"Take Christianity seriously"

As one exasperated listener wrote to me after my adverse comments on alcohol the other week, "You Christians are still straining out the gnat and swallowing the camel—denouncing beer and supporting war—Why don't you take your Christianity seriously?"

Well, I'll agree with him that it is because the world thinks that we are not taking our Christianity seriously that today in all its vital discussions about atomic energy, and its critical conferences about peacemaking and the prevention of war, few seem to care what Popes or Archbishops or Moderators have to say, but all the same I don't accept this as hopeless.

We reprint this talk—recently broadcast in the series "Talking with You"—by courtesy of the BBC.

I still believe that the only peace that can come is a Christian Peace, just as I believe that the only organisation in the world that can outlaw war is the Christian Church, so let me take up an offer made by one listener, and typical surely of many more—"Show us what Christianity can do now to prevent another war and we'd be really interested."

A wicked business

All right—wars happen because there are a sufficient number of people in almost every country who although they know that war is a terrible, dirty, and wicked business are prepared under certain conditions to back it—I am convinced that wars could not happen if there were a sufficient number of people even in one country who were determined whatever the circumstances to refuse to back a war, as they would refuse to countenance adultery or commit murder.

Who can make that decision and announce that refusal and do so straight away? It is my belief, and I know that I'm in a minority as yet, that the Christian can and must give that undertaking. He can, because he believes that this is God's world and that therefore it's a moral universe in which goodness must win and badness must lose. He must, because his first duty is to obey God's laws, not to alter them, and he has the example of Jesus Christ whose triumph was that He went on obeying God when everybody else thought He was an idealistic fool and a practical failure.

My pacifism

I can't argue all this out, and it's so easy to put difficulties in the way and say yes but "what would happen if," and "you can't stand by and let" etc., but it seems to me that this is the way of the Cross and somebody—and who can but the Christian—has got to take it before the world can rise to a new and tranquil life. I must leave it there—I can't commit my fellow Christians, many of whom honestly and intelligently would disagree with my pacifism, but that's where I stand and where I hope one day the whole church will stand.

BATTERSEA 'ADOPTS' GERMAN VILLAGE

THE people of Battersea, S.W., have "adopted" the German village of Hann Mundenn, in Hannover, says the *Daily Herald* (Ap. 22). A parish meeting decided this last night after hearing of the hunger in that village, as told in a letter by a German priest, Pastor Meyer, who wrote thanking Battersea for its part in the "Save Europe Now" food collections last Christmas.

"We were appalled by the evidence submitted by Pastor Meyer," the vicar, Rev. A. S. Hopkinson, said. "About three-quarters of his parish—very much like us here in Battersea, almost entirely a working-class district—are slowly starving."

THOUGHTFUL readers of Peace News will share our regret that, with this number, John Middleton Murry concludes his weekly Commentary. We take the opportunity of expressing our admiration and gratitude for his courageous effort to interpret the world-situation, without deference to the prejudices either of war or anti-war propagandists, throughout the last seven years. Today Mr. Murry reviews some of his past predictions in the light of subsequent events.

attack Russia, that I could only suppose him absolutely confident, on good technical grounds, of success. I did not know my Hitler.

Failure foretold

IT was a bad blunder on my part. But since that time I do not think I have made any serious mistakes in my dismal prognostications. I was from the beginning quite certain that the famous British alliance with Russia would not last a month beyond the end of the war, if indeed it lasted so long. I always held that the alliance itself was a fatal mistake. We received no help from Russia save that which she was forced to give in sheer self-defence; and we should have done well to treat Russia in the same way that she treated us. By entering into this fictitious alliance we prevented ourselves from having a constructive policy towards Germany. We were condemned to the insane policy of "unconditional surrender" simply because the pretended "Allies" could not possibly agree on positive terms to Germany. Our business was to encourage a *coup d'état* in Germany: to do all that we could to promote the emergence of the kind of Germany we are now trying—in the face of well nigh insuperable obstacles—to create.

Fantastic vision

TO imagine that Russia would ever have the faintest interest in reconstructing Europe as a whole, or would ever regard the United Nations as anything but a weapon of manoeuvre, is a naivety that can be left to Mr. Wallace and the New Statesman. Why sentimental Westerners should suppose that it is easy to reach a stable agreement with Russia when the Russians themselves are quite convinced that it is impossible, has always been something of a mystery to me. They seem to look upon



BACK TO VIENNA

After six months as guests in England, these Austrian children are returning home. Bidding them farewell at Victoria Station, London, are some of their hosts and members of the International Friendship League which organised the visit. (See page 3).

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Standard-bearers

THE publication of Rupert Brooke's "Democracy and the Arts" sets in curious contrast the dream and reality of Socialism. A lecture delivered to the Cambridge University Fabian Society in 1911, it is full of that enthusiasm for the future which two world wars have done so much to eliminate, and that naive faith in bureaucratic sagacity which even yet tints the Fabian mind.

Brooke was hopeful that, under Socialism, the State would provide endowments for promising writers. His text has appeared just in time to escape the latest paper controls, which make the publisher's business a nightmare, and the young author's prospects a blank.

When the Ship of State grounds on the Brambles, artists and philosophers are always the first to be jettisoned. Socialism has not altered that. In Soviet Russia, the writer who rises above propaganda is not merely redundant but dangerous. In England, so long as our economic "crisis" persists, his position is practically impossible. And we are not off the Brambles by a long way; indeed, we may never be off. For even should we not sink still deeper, when the American loan gives out, a high tide is hardly to be expected.

But it is not merely artists who first themselves in danger once more. "We must export or expire," cries the skipper. If that is the case, then industrial conscription is inevitable. Sooner or later those thousands employed on football pools will have to be directed into manufacturing. Nor is there any reason why they should not be, unless self-interest ranks before the interests of society. But with them will go many more who follow vocations. For no authority has ever granted exemption even from military service on grounds of conscientious *compulsion*, and Tribunals for vocational objectors—?

"The Slavery of our Times," it seems, was more prophetic than "Democracy and the Arts." For Tolstoy pointed out in 1900 that if Socialism made the bourgeois standard of life its ideal, Socialism would mean a new kind of slavery; that ideal dependent upon drudgery, which somebody would be forced to undertake. And it is just this bourgeois standard of life that our export-drive is calculated to secure.

The chances are that it cannot secure it. Markets are not insatiable, and no export drive can go on for ever; furthermore, the harder men toil to achieve it, the less opportunity they will have to take advantage of it. But even if it could be achieved, would the game really be worth the candle? Rather than recover a high standard of life at the price of slavery, would it not be better even to "expire" in the effort to win freedom at the price of a lower standard?

For what is this "high standard" anyway but a mirage? That Ford which the worker perceives, shimmering there on the horizon, does not really call forth his drudgery: it is his drudgery that calls forth that Ford—to carry him away from the belt. The Socialist ideal today is the vision of those who, through no fault of their own, have never learned the meaning of "vocation"; it is the proletarian's dream of a bourgeois week-end.

No wonder Brooke's hope remains unrealised. A Government which pursues this ideal can have no use for the artist, because it has none for vocation. But neither shall we, who value vocation, treat the artist as "a special kind of man": because we should see in every man "a special kind of artist," and fashion our ideal accordingly.

BRITAIN—PAWN OR POWER

THE personal appearance of Henry Wallace in this country, to plead the case which provoked his disagreement with the American administration, is a suitable occasion for reconsidering the deadlock caused by the differences between the "two giant powers," Russia and America.

The clash between free capitalist and dictatorial commisar, which fascinates the theorists and frightens the realists, has been quietly working havoc in other places than the Moscow conference. The British Labour Party has, for instance, been precipitated into a couple of parliamentary squabbles which were tangential to the real issues of British foreign policy. The revival of the De Gaulle faction in France, supported by the moderate right as a bulwark against Communism, is another sign of the times. And Truman's vigorous policy in the Balkans has not alleviated the fears of those people in Europe who had almost made up their minds that they had to get into one or other camp.

Wallace's advice

Wallace's advice to the British people, though courageous and sincere, is not likely to soothe many troubled minds outside the New Statesman readership. He advocates Britain acting as a mediator between the rival imperialisms and contends that as the third world power, both understanding the necessity for a planned economy, and realising the importance of our heritage of freedom, we should bridge the gulf between east and west.

It is possibly not very popular to say so, but I should have thought that that was what Ernest Bevin has been striving, with commendable tenacity, to do. But, as the Glasgow Herald (April 11) remarks, Russia does not distinguish between the British planned economy and American free capitalism. Nor is that the only difficulty. The leader writer might have gone on to add that many Americans do not distinguish between British planned economy and Russian dictatorial communism.

British foreign policy

The truth is that British foreign policy has not, so far, been very distinguished, and that Henry Wallace's well-intentioned advice would not deliver it from being overshadowed by the Russian-American struggle. By comparison, what Walter Padley has to say in his new book* is both informative and stimulating. The manifest need for democratic socialism to become a major world power is treated realistically and the possibility is argued with a wealth of fact and cogent reasoning. Other books about European union have seemed unconvincing, perhaps because they were not meant to convince in the Marcus Aurelian sense of matching words with deeds.

G. D. H. Cole, in his analysis of British foreign policy, for example, was so careful not to give offence to Russia, so full of anxiety that the Eastern European states should not be removed from the Russian sphere, so concerned that a Western European Union should not be construed as an unfriendly alliance by Russia, so winsomely desirous that national aspirations (for example, French claims on the Ruhr) should not be frustrated and that economic co-operation should rest on a minimal provision for interlocking treaties and agreements, that no one could feel much enthusiasm for it. By contrast, Walter Padley, whose "Am I My Brother's Keeper" (written under the pseudonym Marcus Aurelius) was enthusiastically commended to Peace News readers by John Middleton Murry, will leave you in doubt about the seriousness of his intentions.

Cole's point about the eastern European agricultural countries being dependent on Russian machinery is dealt with summarily. The destruction of industrial plant in Russia has been so serious that her own needs cannot be met, and Stalin himself admitted, even in 1939, that it will take "time, and no little time at that" for Russia to "outstrip the principal capitalist countries economically." The industrial potential of Germany is recognised by all balanced

by
DONALD PORT

critics as the pivot of European unity, as Germany was, before the war, the largest market of most European countries east of the Rhine, and a very important trade partner of the countries of Western Europe.

Padley's examination of the interdependence of Western European Powers, and their comparative independence of their colonial empires, is both convincing and important, and the book is worth buying for the information given in this section alone. The production figures for these European countries, set alongside those of Russia and America, reveal that a democratic socialist alliance in Western Europe could be a power as great as Russia and America, and consequently more fitted to fill the role required of Britain by Henry Wallace. Moreover, as Padley argues, while before the war "union" depended on "socialism," now "socialism" depends on "union."

But a stronger policy is required from the British Labour Party before all this could come near realisation. First of all, forthright steps to secure domestic socialism. And here Padley argues for what all of us must have felt to be necessary to the fulfilment of socialist promises: more drastic measures of an equalitarian nature than have yet been contemplated in the public declarations of the present Government—if Socialism is to become a reality in the lives of ordinary men and women; secondly, a continuation of the coloni-

NOTES FROM ROME

THE most controversial question to come before the Italian Constituent Assembly—the relation between Church and State—was finally settled on Mar. 26, after a debate lasting eight hours ended in a collusion between the Right-wing and the Communists, which aroused scorn in the Chamber and caustic comment afterwards in the Press.

As approved, Article VII of the New Italian Constitution reads: "The State and the Catholic Church are, each in its own sphere, independent and sovereign. Their relations are regulated by the Lateran Pacts. Whatever the modifications, bilaterally accepted, revision of the Constitution is not required."

The thorny issues of the Lateran Pacts divided the Assembly between Monarchists, Christian Democrats, Uomo Qualunquists and Communists, on the one hand, and Socialists, Actionists, Left-wing Republicans and independent Liberals on the other.

Against a barrage from both Right and Left of the House, Palmiro Togliatti, the Communist leader, supported the Article, on the plea that Italy needed "religious peace." The Communist Organ L'Unita published this justification in the headlines: "In the interests of unity of the workers and religious peace, the Communist Party of Italy votes for Article VII." But the Saragat Socialists' L'Umanita called the passing of the Article "a national scandal," and the Catholic press was quick to repudiate the sincerity of Togliatti's assertion that his vote was not given "for electoral reasons." In a country 99 per cent. Catholic, it sneered, "unreligious Communism will always be out of place."

Anyhow, the collaboration between Communists and the Right-wing—or any other wing for that matter—does not extend beyond religious peace. A few days later the ACLI (the Catholic element of the organised Labour Movement) threatened to leave the General Confederation of Labour (CGIL) if its domination by Communists continues. L'Umanita published

THE DAILY WORKER

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al policy initiated in Egypt and India; thirdly, a strong lead to Europe to abandon compromise and become a major democratic-socialist power. "We may hope that the advance of downright and determined socialism in Britain and Western Europe will, as G. D. H. Cole has predicted, make easier a compromise agreement with Soviet Russia. But assuredly we cannot await Russian permission before pressing on with the utmost vigour towards the European Socialist Union which alone promises the preservation of the humane culture and its consummation in a truly international society."

Finally, Padley has a timely word about the conflict between nationalism and internationalism, denouncing anti-nationalism, which often leads to transferred patriotism (cf. communists and Russia) and emphasising that there are aspects of nationalism "which are by no means alien to Socialist purpose." He might have returned to his master, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus to quote: "my city and country, so far as I am Antoninus, is Rome, but so far as I am a man, it is the world. The things which are useful to these cities are alone useful to me."

a violently-worded charge that CP "red squadristi" were operating a campaign of "ideological and physical terror," to prevent the growth of the New Saragat Socialist Party. Matteo Resta, a Qualunquist, was lynched whilst trying to set fire to a Labour headquarters at Givita del Colle, near Bari. A mob sacked several Right-wing political offices. A Qualunquist meeting at Ravenna was broken up by a "stick" attack . . .

AS a change from the monotony of the general custom of passing death sentences upon Fascists, Nazis, and German Military Officers, the Rome Court of Assizes, after an 86 days hearing, recently acquitted 36 of the 67 Fascist officials who ran Rome under the Germans, and "let off" the remainder with light jail sentences ranging from six months to nineteen years. Such clemency L'Unita called "an insult to Rome," and many Romans in the courtroom so took the insults to themselves, that their sanguinary correction of the law was barely frustrated by the prompt action of the police in removing the recipients of justice through a side exit.

ITALY is now conducting a census of foreign nationals. All must re-register on or before Mar. 31, on pain of penalty. Writing these notes on that day, I have already three times failed in attempts to penetrate the crowd at the Questina. I am told that the queue forms at midnight for the next day! Rome surely must now contain the largest foreign population of any city in Europe. Maybe one of the reasons for this is that travellers have come to gape at the Easter decorations in the confectioners' shops. Such a mountainous exhibition of chocolate and marzipan is certainly, in these days, a sight worth travelling to see—in a country where the sugar ration is about 9 ounces per month per person and cocoa imported to retail at 13s. per lb. There is, of course, no sweet ration in Italy.

FREDRICK LOHR

*Britain—Pawn or Power. Gollancz, 6s.

FOUR BLOWS AT NATIONAL BARRIERS

1. BACK TO VIENNA

GOOD diplomatic relations only make for peace when they are based on real international friendship and understanding," said Dr. Enderl, of the Austrian Embassy, last week. He was addressing some thirty Viennese boys and girls, who were being given a farewell party in London by the International Friendship League.*

"You have done a wonderful job," he told their hosts. "You have given these children a good time, and that alone is important, because you get bitter if you are young and have nothing but misery." These children had experienced more than their share of misery. Some of their parents had died in concentration camps, some had been in concentration camps with their parents.

Six months ago, when they reached England, Mrs. Jamieson told me, they were exhausted, haggard, and in some cases timid and suspicious. Nobody seeing them this afternoon would have imagined it. When, at the end of a tumultuous game of plate-spinning, one of the women in charge exclaimed, "well, you've all had a rest now," I could only wonder what their normal standard of exertion and high spirits might be.

Scotch accents

Bertha Bracey, of the Children from Concentration Camps Christian Committee had selected the children for their holiday. Most of them had been living with families in North England and Scotland. Monica had been in Manchester ("it rained a bit," she said), Josef in Edinburgh. Had he enjoyed it, I asked. "Ay," he replied: "It was a wee bit cauld, but we had some grrand snowballing." All the children had learned to speak British. At the end of the afternoon, the strains of "Wi a hundred pipers an' a" followed hard upon "Roslein, roslein, roslein rot."

The International Friendship League (in which many pacifists are active) is a purely voluntary organisation. Founded by a member of the Society of Friends in 1931, it has branches now throughout the country, and arranges cheap holidays in Europe, international summer schools and pen-friendships. This year the League hopes to provide hospitality for another party of children, this time from France.

The object of all its work is to promote understanding, friendship and service between the people of different countries. Undoubtedly it is doing "a wonderful job." These young Austrians will be able to correct many misconceptions about the ordinary folk of England and Scotland when they get home; and surely those who have met them in their temporary homes and schools will think twice, in future years, before agreeing to blast, blind and maim them and their likes, should "diplomatic relations deteriorate."

F. A. L.

*British headquarters: 38 Gordon Square, London, W.C.1. A photo of the children leaving Victoria appears on page one.

3. IT STARTED WITH COCOA-DISTRIBUTING

MRS. SMITH takes tea with Frau Schmidt—Wives plan a German club of peace." These were the headlines to a Daily Express report (April 14) that British wives in Hamburg were fraternising with the women of Hamburg "on a scale unknown between the women of the defeated and the women of the conquerors in any other German city."

"A movement has been launched to form an Anglo-German women's club in one of the large houses in the suburb of Blankensee," the report adds. Most of the British women are wives of Control Commission men working in Hamburg.

The formation of the club is the crystallization of the work of fifty wives who during the grim winter, took cocoa to the cellars where many Germans still live, collected old clothes for them, and had parcels sent out from England.

2. A SUCCESSFUL EXPERIMENT

French Cultural Week at Huntingdon

PEOPLE who attend international conferences all agree that the most wearisome part is the translation of speeches. We, in England, have always taken it for granted that learning languages is a Herculean task, only to be attempted by a few special people, and attempts to popularise an international language have not gone very far. Language is still a barrier when we try to enter into the culture of other nations.

Must this always be so?

Now that countries are within easy reach of each other, is it out of the question for ordinary intelligent folk to understand one or two languages besides their own?

During Easter week, in sleepy little Huntingdon, famous as the birthplace of Oliver Cromwell, a French Cultural Week has been so successful that it would seem—given the determination—barriers between nations can be broken down.

The old school attended by Cromwell and later Samuel Pepys is now a National Monument, but in the new school, lent by the Governors, more than two hundred children gave up a week of their holiday to study the French language, in itself a cheering thought.

Their studies were directed by a brilliant staff of French teachers, drawn from the Universities of Lyons, Paris, London and Cambridge, who all gave their services free.

Billeted free

One hundred and fifty of the children were visitors, and billets had to be found for them. It says much for the citizens of this little town, that all were billeted free.

Four excellent meals a day were provided by the school meals organiser.

The week, however, was much more than a programme of study, designed to help candidates in their examinations; it was an attempt, in so far

as it was possible without actually travelling to France, to bring the children in touch with many sides of French culture. The news from Moscow is not encouraging, and it is difficult not to think in terms of political rather than cultural Nations; to think, as M. Varin the Cultural Attaché at the French Embassy said in his opening speech, in terms of alliances on paper, rather than alliances between peoples.

Hunger for news

These children have had access to French books, pictures and magazines; they have seen French films, and a charmingly staged French play. Ten young students from Paris have shared their cultural life, and helped in conversational French. The French visitors spoke of the real hunger among the French people for news of the outside world, and especially for news of English education. English teachers visiting France were swamped with questions about English schools and Universities.

Watching these earnest young people wrestling with a foreign tongue, playing happily together, the

question which leaped to the mind was, must they soon be involved in another war or can they be saved?

It is quite clear that they can only be saved by gigantic efforts. The organisation of this week, involving the transport, billeting and feeding of these children, drawn from fifty-three schools covering fourteen counties, together with the planning of classes and all arrangements connected with the social and cultural side, was a superhuman task, involving months of continuous drudgery on the part of Christina Williams, French teacher at the school.

Success of co-operation

How many of us are prepared to put into the job of bringing people together the necessary hard grinding work?

This venture was successful because of the willing co-operation of people of good will in this small corner of the world. We may perhaps dare to hope that in the larger world, success will come when thousands of people of good will are prepared to take the hard way in peace, as they do in war.

MINNIE PALLISTER



After the inaugural luncheon at Huntingdon Grammar School. In the front right to left are Prof. D. Mornet, of the Sorbonne University of Paris; M. Varin, Cultural Attaché at the French Embassy; Mme. Cordier, University of Lyons, (Director of Studies); Mr. Armstrong, Headmaster of Huntingdon Grammar School; Miss Christina Williams, Organiser, and at rear Mlle. Boucoiran, representative of French Min. of Education.

(By courtesy of Hunts. Free Press).

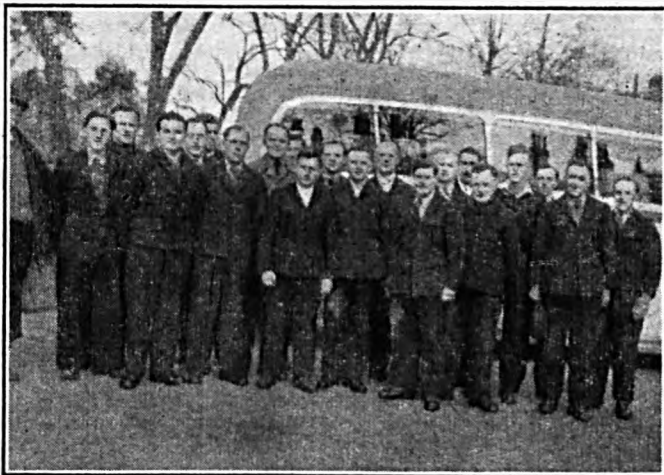
4. POWs WERE THE GUESTS

TWENTY German

POWs were entertained by the Bournemouth group of the Peace Pledge Union at the Friends' Meeting House, Bournemouth, on Sunday, March 30. The photograph shows the visitors, on arrival from two neighbouring camps, before they crossed the street to the Meeting House, where the PPU are allowed to hold their regular meetings. A representative from the Friends was there to greet the visitors.

A very warm and friendly reception was given to them. After tea they were addressed by Miss Minnie Pallister in an exceedingly simple and pleasant way, which delighted the visitors. Although Miss Pallister's speech was translated into German by stages, most of the visitors knew sufficient English to be able to follow her. Her witticism delighted them and they applauded her heartily at the end of each stage even before it was translated.

Then there was a short piano recital and a few German folk songs were rendered by a young lady solo-



THE ARRIVAL

ist. After this the visitors themselves were invited to sing. Promptly they picked out one amongst themselves who could play the piano and opened up enthusiastically with their favourite "Am Brunnen vor dem Tore, da steht ein Lindenbaum." Those who observed them at close quarters during this singing noticed that some of them could with difficulty control their emotions. The singing was good, although, as they explained later,

they very rarely, if ever sing at the camp.

Then one of the visitors was invited to say a few words. A blonde young man volunteered. He spoke in German thanking those who had arranged this exceedingly pleasant party for them. He said further, that although they have been treated quite well in this country, bread was not everything. Now they were treated like friends and equals and this gave them greater satisfaction than anything they had so far encountered. They could never believe that there was anything like this in store for them.

He was told in reply that this friendliness was not a matter of sudden and unaccountable inspiration, but existed even during the darkest hours of the war in which we, as believers in peace and goodwill towards men, did not participate.

Friends who arranged the party must have given up much of their meagre rations as the tea was not only sumptuous, but parcels of food were given to the visitors to take home for some of those who were unable to be present.

10th. ANNUAL GENERAL

THE Peace Pledge Union held its tenth AGM at Friends' House, Euston, on April 19-20. The attendance was noticeably small compared with previous years, and many well-known faces were conspicuous by their absence. It was all too clear that English Pacifism was going through a critical phase, and the time and opportunity had come for a humble and thoughtful reconsideration of past and present policies, if the delegates from all parts of the country were to face the new year with inspiration and confidence. Opening the meeting, the Chairman, **GEORGE M. LI. DAVIES**, begged them to remember the need for Union as well as a Peace Pledge.

The procedure and discussion followed the customary lines. **Dennis Davis** took the chair, and after the names of the new National Council and Area Representatives had been read out, apologies were recorded from Vera Brittain, Donald Port, Winifred Rawlins, Bert Tavenor; Dr. Jong, of Holland, who had been unable to get a permit to attend; Tony Bishop of New Zealand, who would not be arriving until the end of the month; and the Channel Islands Group, who sent their greetings. Fraternal greetings were also received from the War Resisters' League in New York. The meeting learned with great regret that only the previous evening Corder Catchpool had suffered a road accident and was confined to hospital with slight injuries. A note of sympathy was despatched.

REPORTS

GENERAL SECRETARY'S REPORT

Sybil Morrison enquired whether any signatories to the Pledge had been received through sending speakers to organisations such as the Women's Co-operative Guilds, and was assured by Phyllis Vallance that they had. Harold Bing wished to know whether many non-pacifists had been attracted to the conferences arranged by the Youth Committee, and was informed by Patrick Figgis that a third of those present at the Youth Easter Conference, and two-thirds at the Teachers' Conferences, had been non-pacifists.

B. W. Sidwell (NW Area), dealing with the section of the Report on the National Peace Council, moved a reference back, urging National Council to "explore all means to the establishment of a simultaneous world federation by co-operating with all federalist bodies and people seeking to promote world peace." Federation by agreement would create a situation in which international war is no more possible than is inter-county war in this country or interstate war in the USA.

Stuart Morris explained that the NPC had set up a Commission on World Government, with three functions: (a) continuous research into world organisation and government; (b) education of public opinion in the issues involved; (c) representations to governmental and administrative bodies. PPU and FoR had expressed their extreme willingness to co-operate.

The reference back was defeated.

NON-VIOLENCE COMMITTEE'S REPORT

A. K. Jameson appealed for research-workers willing to conduct individual investigations into questions of non-violence, from both the historical and theoretical angles. Names should be sent to the General Secretary, indicating what kind of work be undertaken. Appreciation of Dr. Jameson's work was expressed by the meeting.

WRI REPORT

Runham Brown, replying to various questions, said that the PPU was not the only affiliated society in the British Section of the International: the Labour Pacifist Fellowship was another. With regard to individual membership, the policy of the International had been only to affiliate bodies, in order not to compete with its own sections. With regard to literature suitable to PoWs, he stated that a special pamphlet for all Germans had already been widely circulated.

PEACE NEWS

REPORT

Henry Hilditch (W. Midlands) moved a reference back on the

Editor's statement of his aim "to present as objective a commentary as possible on world affairs." Although Peace News was improved under its new editor, he declared, there was general agreement that J. Middleton Murry's "Commentary" was "kill-

The New National Council

The names of the eighteen successful candidates and the order in which they were elected are as follows:

1. Alex Wood
2. Wilfred Wellock
3. Sybil Morrison
4. Michael Tippett
5. Henry Hilditch
6. Frank Dawtry
7. H. S. Moore
8. W. Rawlins
9. Rev. R. Lee
10. F. A. Lea
11. Minnie Pallister
12. Rev. R. H. Le Messurier
13. Donald Port
14. T. R. Davies
15. R. Page
16. A. Mister
17. L. Bird
18. D. Davis

ing the paper." Circulation was falling, and deserved to fall if this "Commentary" was continued. It did not give non-pacifists the point of view of members of the PPU. Others vociferously echoed this criticism.

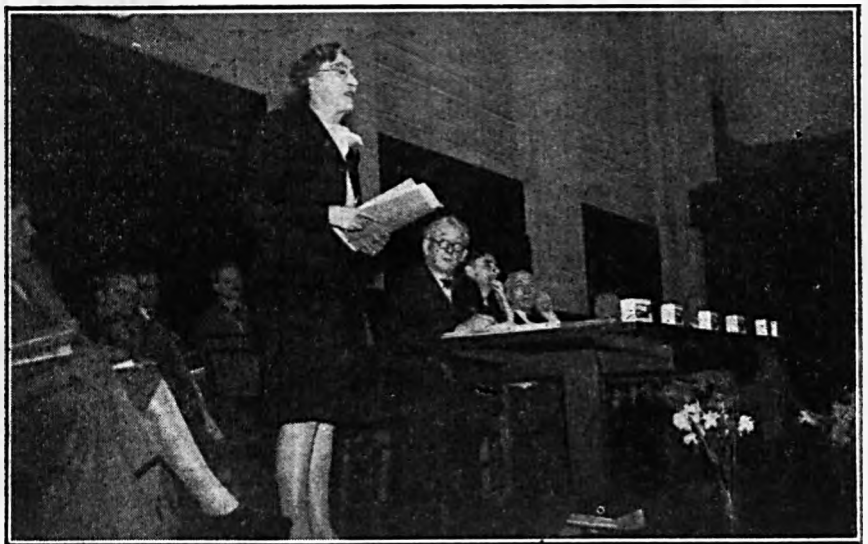
In a somewhat confused atmosphere, Andrew Stewart rose to speak as an ex-Assistant Editor of Peace News. He said two things should be borne in mind. (1) Peace News is the organ of the PPU and ought to contain every conceivable form of opinion. (2) The movement should stand by the Editor's decision or else sack him. It should be remembered that JMM's "Commentary" was entirely his own responsibility, and the widest possible advocacy of other viewpoints was also given in the paper. He felt that JMM still spoke with "a warm voice and a strong voice and an eloquent voice in the PPU." (Loud applause).

Denis Hayes (CBCO) reminded the meeting of the Editor's difficult task in trying to sell unfashionable ideas. He wanted more news about peace and pacifists, to encourage members; as regards the general public, it might be a good thing if some contributors took a course in "Basic English" and simplified their language. But the falling circulation was due to deeper causes than "Commentary."

Laurence Housman felt it was necessary to have a statement of the great difficulties we were up against, and for that reason he welcomed "Commentary," even when he disagreed with it.

Sybil Morrison said that after visiting a great number of groups she had found 95 per cent. objected to "Commentary"; but it should be remembered that there were never more than 15 members present at any of these meetings.

Speaking with great gravity, Michael Tippett admitted that he was frightened of "Commentary." Non-pacifists were accusing the PPU of trying to engender war. JMM seemed to have lost faith in the possibility of standing against tyranny by non-violence, but we must make a very serious effort to present the pacifist case in terms which could not be mis-



Sybil Morrison speaks; on her left, seated at the table, is Stuart Morris, General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union.

understood or misused. "Unfortunately, the 'PPU Commentary' can be misused to make the Union stand for an increase in psychological misunderstanding which is bringing the third war." (Loud applause).

Rev. Richard Lee followed with a plea for "the faith called pacifism," which was more important than the circulation of Peace News. "Commentary" seemed to him to be the most depressing pessimism about the future of the world. We must recapture our conquering faith.

Alex Wood, as Chairman of Directors, felt that we ought at least to preserve the tolerance which the Evening Standard extended to Low's cartoons. He pointed out that "Commentary" was not intended to present the pacifist faith. It was a political commentary on "the applications of pacifism to the relativities of the immediate situation." It was undeniable that in all societies today, Russia was an acute cause of division, among Socialists as well as others. He was therefore very glad to have "Commentary," whilst not always agreeing with it. It was found in Cambridge that keen readers outside the PPU and FoR read the paper for JMM's "Commentary." The real reasons for the falling off in circulation were the same as for the general falling off. The lack of tolerance within the movement, which had "frozen out" JMM, was one. "If his faith has been shaken, it is by the members of the PPU."

Harry Hilditch, replying, wished to repudiate any charge of intolerance. The motion for a reference back was defeated by a narrow majority.

HOUSMAN'S REPORT

Roger Page, on behalf of the London Area, moved the reference back of the Report. The amount of pacifist literature displayed by Housman's, he asserted, was negligible. The sales of such literature had realised only £650 out of a total of £6,900. Sybil Morrison added that such literature as was displayed was practically inaccessible.

As a Director of Housman's, Denis Davis offered some explanations. The firm had begun by accepting the advice of its recent Manager, Geoffrey Gilbert, who had had wide experience of the trade. He had taken the view that to begin with the quality of the stock was of prime importance. He had wanted to build up a business with a reputation for having good books and was against any measure that might encourage the ordinary public to think the venture something cranky. For the time being, the Directors felt that this policy should be continued.

Replying, Roger Page pointed out that the purpose of this reference back was to clear up once and for all the purpose of Housman's. Was it to be a profit-making general bookshop, or a centre for distributing pacifist literature? The reference back was carried by 496 votes to 364.

MAURICE ROWNTREE MEMORIAL FUND

The meeting, after listening to Maud Rowntree's report on a house at Loughton which must be accepted or rejected this month, and recog-

nising that the final decision must rest with Executive, reaffirmed its belief that a Conference Centre and Guest House was a feasible and desirable memorial to Maurice Rowntree.

1947-8 BUDGET

Maud Rowntree moved the acceptance of the draft budget of £5,000, and the motion was seconded by Henry Hilditch. He had been asked to second it, he declared, because he had previously moved the increase of the budget from £3,700 in National Council. He, and half the Council, believed that this was the only way to prevent the PPU fading out altogether. If members were not prepared to find £5,000, then the movement's assets ought to be used for this purpose and money again raised on Dick Sheppard House.

An animated discussion followed. Standing Orders were suspended in order to enable Frank Dawtry to move an amendment, seconded by Bill Roberts.

"I feel it necessary," said Frank Dawtry, "that pacifist finances should be honest. I therefore move that the budget be reduced by £1,000. Two years ago, we were short by £1,000 of the budgeted figure of £6,000. Last year, we raised only £4,000 against a budgeted figure of £5,000. We are on the verge of once again pawning Dick Sheppard House if this budget fails. All the talk of the three hundred people at this conference is no guarantee of £5,000. We have heard just the same assurances before. Let us budget for what we can reasonably expect, and hope for the amount we should like."

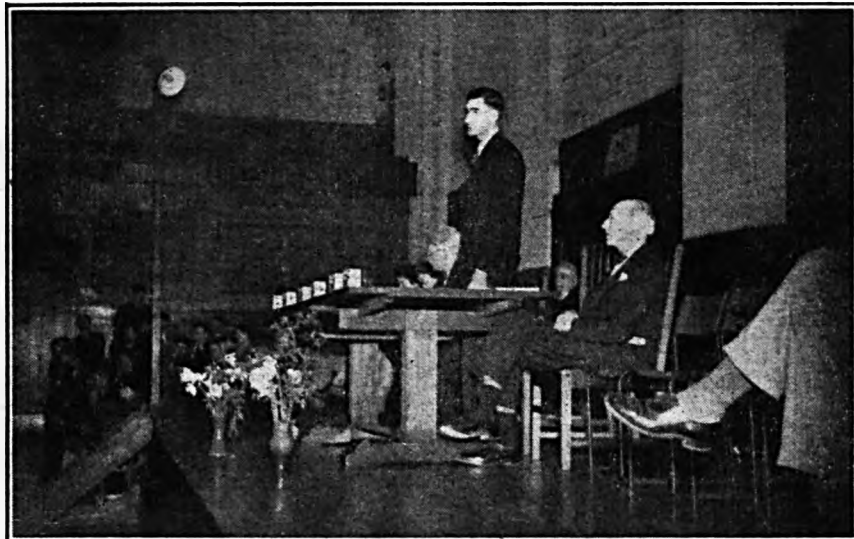
COLLECTING BOXES

Stuart Morris asserted that if this budget were not adopted, the consequent restrictions on policy would mean the end of the PPU. But he did not think it would fail. The Nottingham Scheme had broken down because of the difficulty of collecting from individuals the regular contributions which they were unable to pay as a lump sum. But—and here he held up a box for all to see—they were now issuing collecting boxes which individuals might keep, and into which they might drop their sixpences week by week.

Bernard Taylor thought that the reason for declining contributions was quite clear; it was the same as the reason for the small attendance at the AGM, the small number of votes cast for National Council, the falling circulation of Peace News, etc. The PPU no longer stood for anything definite in which members could believe.

Henry Hilditch, however (to whom Maud Rowntree had relinquished her right to reply), pointed out that until the end of last year, there had been no statement from the Accounts Dept., from which individual members could have gathered what was expected from them to keep the movement in being. He appealed to the faith of members, and the amendment was defeated by a large majority. The £5,000 budget was approved, with the addition of £100 to increase the salaries of staff at Headquarters.

MEETING OF THE PPU



Denis Davis addressing the meeting. He was acting as Chairman, in place of George M. L. Davies, seated on his left.

AS the large hall in Friends' House gradually filled on Sunday morning, two motions submitted by the National Council were discussed. The motions had been designed to provoke a fruitful debate, and did not express the view of the Council.

The first motion was proposed by Trevor Davis and seconded by Audrey Jupp.

1. "The AGM desires to place on record its conviction that the pledge is not consistent with the positive advocacy of the use of armed force whether controlled by international or national authority for any purpose."

The discussion was violently precipitated by David Spreckley, who appealed to the meeting to "throw out the motion lock, stock and barrel." He said it should not be necessary to waste time affirming these things. The motion was diabolical in its implications of doubt—not in the rank and file, but at the core of the movement. It seemed to imply that a "negative advocacy" of the use of armed force might be allowed in the PPU. Our task was to get the man in the street to stop the next war.

Roland Bird (Conway) agreed, saying that too much time and energy were wasted in trying to solve the problems of peace rather than get back to the stand of "War, we say No."

Harold Bing (Folkestone) felt the motion was an attempt to interpret the pledge in terms of the use of all force—for example, by the police in dealing with criminals. This did not seem a logical interpretation of the pledge "I renounce war."

Frank Dawtry explained that the motion arose out of a suggestion at last year's AGM that we might support the use of an international police force. "This motion reaffirms that we are not going to advocate the use of armed force." It was left to the conference to reject or accept it.

Joseph Jackson (Bournemouth) spoke as an ex-policeman who "had to do dirty things in the name of law and order." Any international force should be unarmed and based on moral power.

YORKSHIRE AMENDMENT

Geoffrey Tattersall moved the Yorkshire amendment to the motion. "That the support or sanction of the use of armed force whether controlled by international or national authority for any purpose is not consistent with pacifism."

He said the main point was to insert the word "pacifism" instead of "the pledge." The pledge might be consistent with the advocacy of an armed international force, in order to avert war; pacifism was the faith of people who did not believe in the use of military violence.

Stuart Morris asked the meeting to support the amendment. He agreed with David Spreckley but did not want the motion altogether rejected. For propaganda purposes we must make our position plain, "that we cannot support armed force in any disguise or for any purpose."

Alex Wood rose to support the amendment for opposite reasons: because it spoke of "pacifism" and not the pledge. The pledge was a matter of individual conscience and we could not interpret other people's conscience by laying down a party line. It was necessary to draw a distinction

between what was immediately practicable and the ideal, and we should leave the door open for people wishing to co-operate with other groups such as UNA. "If we cannot work alongside other people we shall be politically inept and irrelevant."

Bernard Taylor (London) enquired whether, if the motion was passed, we should start a "heresy hunt" to chuck out those who did not accept it. If not, the only logical thing was to reject the resolution and all the amendments. After our experience of the last ten years, he felt it was difficult enough even to keep to the original pledge.

On a vote the Yorkshire amendment was carried, and the amended motion was accepted.

SECOND MOTION

The second motion was introduced by Michael Tippet.

2. "The AGM affirms that while providing a fellowship in which pacifists could find mutual assistance, the main purpose of the PPU is to advocate, as an individual responsibility, renunciation of war and to secure adherents to the pledge; to stand by those who resist military conscription and any form of servitude or service as a compulsory alternative thereto; to endeavour to create a public opinion which will recognise the real causes of war, abandon the methods of war, and insist on alternative methods of settling disputes; and to initiate and encourage research and experiment in pacifism and non-violence, seeking to create by service and personal example the essential conditions of a peaceful society."

Wilfred Wellock remarked that he had been trying to discover the meaning of pacifism for the last forty years. It was a social revolution with deep political implications, founded on a new method of living. When the crash came, new patterns of living would be of great importance.

A. K. Jameson stressed the importance of the pacifist movement's proposing some alternative to the method of armed force. It is not enough to say, abandon the war method; we must be able to present specific examples of alternative methods of resistance.

LONDON AMENDMENT

An amendment was moved by Sybil Morrison, on behalf of the London Area:

"To delete all words after 'mutual assistance' and to substitute the following: 'The main purposes of the PPU are:—"

(a) To advocate, as an individual, national and international responsibility, the renunciation of war, and to secure adherence to the pledge;

(b) To encourage resistance to military and industrial conscription."

Appropos of the second clause, Sybil Morrison declared that she herself believed that there was no solid basis for opposition to conscription except the pacifist basis: what logical argument have you for refusing conscription if you do not refuse war? In order to encourage resistance to military and industrial conscription, it was necessary that we should put the right arguments clearly before those who had to make up their minds upon this matter.

Michael Tippet, replying, pointed out that there was no intention, on the part of those framing the original motion, to suggest that the PPU were trying to exclude, or put in a lower

moral category than the absolutists, those who accepted alternative service, as one or two speakers had suggested.

Upon the suggestion of Roy Walker, Michael Tippet agreed to insert the words "national and international" after "individual" in the motion, and with this alteration it was carried, in preference to the London Area's amendment.

AREA MOTIONS

On Sunday afternoon, two motions, submitted by the London and West Midland Areas and the Western Area respectively, were considered by the meeting.

1. This AGM asks National Council to take a lead in destroying completely the Conscription Acts rather than obtaining exemption provisions for objectors, and to urge all who are opposed to peacetime military conscription to ignore the Act and to refuse to obey or accept it in any detail.

Moving this, Jack Sutherland said that the time had come to cease receding before the onslaught of militarism. Seconding the motion, Ron Hand believed that "at the present time there is laid upon the membership of the PPU a special responsibility with regard to conscription: we are concerned not with those who will volunteer to fight in the next war, nor with those who are pacifists, but with the large number of young men of 18 who have no views one way or the other. They are to be asked to prepare themselves to fight in a future war, against an unknown enemy, for an unknown cause. This is a monstrous injustice to these young men. I am quite aware that it is a very serious thing to say that we will urge the people to break the law of this country, but if it is a bad law it must be broken. Conscription in peace-time is the first conscious, deliberate step we have taken in this country towards a totalitarian regime."

David Spreckley supported the resolution for two reasons: "First, we have learned from experience that with their conscience clauses the Government have completely decimated and absolutely fooled COs. Secondly, we have the evidence of the experts that in this new atomic warfare, for every one man in the front line there will have to be a hundred or so behind supporting him. Under these conditions, conditional exemption becomes farcical for the pacifist."

S.E. AREA AMENDMENT

An amendment to the motion was submitted by Frank Bristowe, on behalf of the SE Area, to the effect that all words after 'AGM' should be deleted in favour of:

"reaffirms its opposition to compulsory military service and declares its intention to continue its activities towards the removal of the Conscription Acts from the Statute Book."

This amendment was proposed, seconded and supported by several speakers on the grounds that it was asking the 18-year-old to do what most of us had failed to do during the War, namely, take the absolutist stand. One speaker, describing himself as "Perhaps nearer to eighteen than anybody else in this hall," added "it will take a lot more than glib promises by a small pacifist movement to get tens of thousands of young chaps to go to prison. To ask people of eighteen to go to gaol on this issue is a bit thick!"

However, it was pointed out, if the resolution were carried, and PPU members meant what they said, most of them would find themselves in gaol before the youngsters.

"I do feel very strongly," concluded Stuart Morris, "that this is a far more critical decision than some of us have yet realised. It is a decision of policy, which I was referring to last night when I said that finance is very largely linked with policy. We became weakened because we started to react to circumstances. There is no hope for the PPU unless in some way we find the opportunity of regaining the initiative. I can see no way except this. I would choose the resolution rather than the amendment because the resolution involves taking the initiative and telling the Government what we are going to do. We can't avoid the consequences for the youngsters of going into the army—they are just as serious as the consequences of going to prison. I beg of you to accept the resolution and reject the amendment."

With the consent of the Conference the words "Conscription Acts" in the Resolution were altered to "National Service Acts." The South-Eastern Areas amendment was defeated and the original motion was carried.

CHAIRMAN'S SPEECH

At this point, because he had to leave early, George Davies rose to make his closing speech.

"In a meeting of this kind," he said, "are heard most ardent discussions of all sorts of points, and sometimes one feels a sense of weariness, as though pacifism was all problems. But I do think that what you are trying to do in your meetings and in your groups—to get real conviction with roots in it—is far more important than trying to ride the flowing tide. Probably the most real witness, and certainly the most real happiness in comradeship, is found in quite small groups."

"In this country we have freedom. The question with freedom is, what are we going to do with it in our association with young people? We should talk to them about the lessons we have ourselves learned, and help them to think before they find themselves in a situation of moral bondage."

"The seed goes to ground if it is real seed. I suggest that about 3 per cent. are here of the PPU membership, this membership being only 10 per cent. of what it was when it used roughly to be calculated at one in three thousand of our population. When you feel absolutely paralysed at being members of a minority, remember that numbers don't always count." Here the speaker instanced a number of minority-sponsored experiments which have had far-reaching results, such as the Building Trades Parliament. "If you can get men who have the seed idea, the amount of scope does not matter so much as that it should be the true seed."

"Don't forget, if Peace News depresses you, that the times are depressing. Maybe one of the difficult things for us to face sometimes is that our civilisation seems to be coming to an end. We don't know. With the atom bomb the possibility seems nearer and nearer. We can only suggest going on doing what we can see, according to our conscience and our conviction, to be the right thing. Finally, men respond to fellowship. In that faith I believe the PPU can pluck up heart and courage to go on."

Sybil Morrison proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman and Acting Chairman, Denis Davis.

FINAL ITEMS

A motion from the Western Area was proposed by Alan Mister:

"That one of the main tasks of the PPU should be to press for the speedy withdrawal of British Armed Forces from Europe, the Middle East, India, and the Far East, since:—"

(a) The presence of British troops in these territories, far from helping to solve the problems with which the inhabitants are confronted, tends rather to exacerbate them, besides increasing suspicion and ill-will among the Great Powers;

(b) The maintenance of these heavy military commitments will, by necessitating conscription and diverting national resources from productive activity, seriously compromise the efforts of the Government to achieve a synthesis of real personal freedom, economic justice and well-being, and drastically curtail the amount of help it can give to less fortunate peoples."

This motion was carried.

It was agreed that the remaining motions should be forwarded for consideration by the National Council.

Thanks were proposed by Frank Dawtry to Roger Page and the Stewards through whose efforts the conference had run smoothly; the Treasurers and the staffs of Dick Sheppard House, Housman's and Peace News; the members of the retiring National Council and the General Secretary. He pointed out that National Council had lost two staunch and regular members, Nancy Browne and John Middleton Murry, calling for a note of appreciation of their work to be sent from the AGM.

Stuart Morris thanked also the staff of Friends House, and concluded by saying that he was forwarding to the Prime Minister the text of the last two motions, together with any other "appropriate resolutions."

READER'S PAGE

Jews to-day

MR. KENNETH FARNHAM'S article "The Jews Today" distinguishes itself by its fairmindedness. But, I should like to point out several things which seem to me of the utmost importance in dealing with the situation of the Jews in the world.

It is a big mistake to interpret Zionism as the expression of a despairing people: it is the expression of a people that has never lost hope and which, in the very bottom of distress, has found the strength for new hope. Jewish "Nationalism" ought not to be compared with certain other Nationalisms, the Jews not being a "nation" of exactly the same kind as others. The "Constitution" which makes them a Nation is the divine Law (Thora) and wherever Jews are persecuted, you may be sure that the divine Law of Truth and Love and Justice is disregarded.

But to me more important and deeply problematic is the conflict which must arise within the Christian's mind when trying to determine his attitude towards the Jewish people. The moment you identify Jesus with God, you burden the Jewish people with the unexpiable metaphysical guilt of having "murdered God" (monstrous as such a contradictory allegation may sound).

At the same time you state that God has chosen to become a poor Jew despised by his own people. That means: the greater the honour—the greater the guilt, the greater the glory—the greater the curse, the greater the blessing—the heavier the condemnation. Thus, the glorification of one Jew embodying Love makes all the other Jews in the world an object of hatred. Without this

embodiment of Love, there would not have been that subject of hatred, so that from one day to the other, God is accused of having abandoned his people in favour of all the Nations to whom the law of Love was brought by this very people.

In this theological contradiction lie the roots for the terrible situation of the Jews since the diaspora. It is strange enough that the only country where racial insult is officially condemned and severely punished, should be Russia (Article 123 of the Soviet Constitution), whereas in the Christian countries anti-semitism can be expressed and is felt among the very elite.

The Jews, despised, persecuted, laughed at, frequently burdened with the wrongs of others, play amongst the nations a part very much alike to that of Jesus. They are made to shed their blood for the sins of the world, they go on carrying their heavy crosses, their children go on being sacrificed like lambs by millions. But they, too, do not give up faith in God and His eternal promise which cannot be cancelled by any human decision or interpretation of History.

Zionism is the expression of that loyalty and faith. Its aims are pure though its means may now and then be wrong. These wrongs, without any doubt, can be attributed to despair. But Zionism is the confession of a people who believe in the eternal value of their mission; a people animated by silent heroism, facing, alone—but relying on God and His word—the world's contempt and laughter. They don't ask for mercy, pity and tolerance, nor claim to be exactly like others. They are what they are and as such fight for their existence and for a home where their children will be surrounded by love. They have been slaughtered for every holy and unholy purpose. They now want to live in peace and to build up a new community whose

foundations will be mainly spiritual as they always have been.

Preventing them from doing so may well prove to mean struggling with powers which surpass considerably the will of politicians.

MARCEL OPPENHEIMER.

11 Oak Hill Park, N.W.3.

The other side

WITHOUT either pro- or anti-Semitism it ought to be possible to air both sides of a question. In his defence of Jewry Kenneth Farnham lists, but does not adequately refute, a number of indictments, including that of Jewish "political and economic influence." There is, of course, no need to assert that every financial oligarch is a Jew, but such "influences" have played no small part in precipitating every major war in recent history.

As a gentleman signing himself "Josephus" once retorted to me during a newspaper controversy, "in money power the Children of Israel are your masters, and always will be." It was his last word, written with relish. One could almost see him cocking a snook.

Powerful cosmopolitan Shylocks may repudiate Zionism. Unless the "National Home" could be made a further means of tightening their network of international parasitism it would be the last thing they'd want. If it did serve that purpose, "let not thy right hand know what thy left hand doeth" might still be good policy.

There is no smoke without fire. A Jewish refugee herself once declared to a friend of mine that for what they had done in Germany many of the Jews deserved all they got.

Finally, assimilation by inter-marriage is a shallow and pernicious doctrine which no good Jew would accept. Only renegades would agree. The law of Moses forbidding this was probably based upon a profound

natural insight which human genetics may in due course corroborate.

DION BYNGHAM.

Dunshay Cottage,
Langton Matravers, Dorset.

Mistaken conclusions

WHILE Mr. Kenneth Farnham has much to say that is true, and very much to say which is not realised even by our fellow Jews, let alone our Compatriots, he nevertheless sums up falsely and draws mistaken conclusions.

Jews and Arabs, Jews and Germans, Jews and all other peoples can "live together and work together like brothers." That is true.

There are many Jews (I do not think millions any more—we are not many millions altogether) who detest Zionism—that is true. They are mainly to be found amongst those who have enjoyed the security, even if, as Mr. Farnham puts it, it has been "only comparative security and prosperity within the countries in which they live"—that is true.

That they have assimilated or intend to assimilate—that is not true. The Jewish question is not, therefore, one of assimilation—Jews and Christians can and will and must live together and work together like brothers.

One day we Jews and Christians may come so close together that we shall evolve something neither Jewish nor Christian, but superseding both—but Jews will never solve what Mr. Farnham calls the Jewish problem by becoming Christians.

For us Jews the Jewish problem is something different anyway. When we speak of the ideals to be achieved in the future—of the Messianic Age, we mean the day when nation will not war against nation. When all swords will actually be beaten into ploughshares—when every man everywhere will recognise every man as his brother, and made in the image of his Maker; on that day we shall have the Kingdom of God on Earth.

G. W. HIRSCH.

27 Eagle Lodge, London, N.W.11.

A tonic

IN reply to Mr. Edward Smith's remarks, I find your weekly Commentary a tremendous tonic in these difficult and dangerous days—and in this all your readers surely would agree and thank God for the strength and sincerity of the principles underlying this weekly causerie.

The real question is: How far is Stalin "red"? It was Tolstol who immortalised the terms "War and Peace," but the latter term connotes a different conception in almost every mind. The real fight is between "War and Goodwill"—and on this plane we have learnt during the continuing conference this last month that Russia will have none of it. More than that—the power or bludgeon of "the veto" militates against goodwill among nations and men. The spirit and the letter of peace alike depend on the atmosphere of goodwill. And it should be possible for there to be "Peace with honour" signed once more in the former German capital.

A. S. BRYANT.

Upwey Rectory,
Weymouth.

A shock

WE are amazed and shocked to find the late editor of Peace News—Mr. Middleton Murry—supporting the "Truman doctrine" of military and economic intervention, in the Middle East.

We submit that for Mr. Murry to "Welcome" such intervention, in Greece and Turkey, in order to prevent the spread of Communism, is not only subversive, to everything Peace News and the PPU stands for, but is, in our view, positively wicked. May we urge that Peace News should not be made the vehicle of such subversive propaganda.

ARTHUR KNOWLES (Ex-Pres. Lan-

caster PPU).

JEANNE KNOWLES.

THOMAS RHODES (Ex-Chairman).

ROSE RHODES.

MILDRED M. CARTER (Ex-Treas.)

MARY E. GRIFFIN (Ex-Sec.)

They did in Caernarvon

MAY I suggest that any member

of the PPU who has not already

written to the Prime Minister, the Defence Minister and the local MP to protest in the strongest terms against the conscription proposals is downright slack and should rectify the omission immediately?

C. P. SKILTON.

50 Alexandra Road,
London, S.W.19.

Roger Page replies

"NOW Barabbas" has perhaps had too much of your space, but may I briefly reply to Mr. Burden's attack?

1. Mr. Home is not a pacifist and the fact that I am is nothing to do with drama criticism.
2. If I had condemned the play—and I didn't—the fact that it was "universally praised" doesn't necessarily mean anything. By the same argument JMM was wrong recently to criticise Churchill, who is "universally praised" by "responsible and experienced" people as a great and noble man.
3. I joined in the "almost universal praise" (e.g., "the worthiest new play for years.") Is "Barabbas" a 100 per cent. play, beyond criticism?
4. My qualifications. Mr. Burden knows nothing about these and shouldn't refer to them.
5. Experience. If it were true that I'm a beginner (by the way, I'm not) how would I ever be anything else if Mr. Burden wouldn't let me begin, mistakes and all? If this applied to playwrights what would have happened to "Barabbas"?
6. Amateur. This good word (meaning "lover") ought not to be used as a sneer. And if used to mean "unpaid," Mr. Burden is both irrelevant and wrong.

ROGER PAGE.

Too many reservations

MAY I join in the Page-Dawtry argument? Mr. Page complained that Mr. Dawtry wrote a petulant letter, and then proceeded to give Mr. Dawtry (and us all) an object-lesson on what a really petulant letter should be. He suggested that Mr. Dawtry "thundered." Does petulance express itself in thunder? It seems to me that it is Mr. Page, not Mr. Dawtry, who "can't have it both ways!"

So far as the "function of drama criticism" is concerned, its main function, surely, is to express an honest, personal opinion in clear and unmistakable terms, so that subsequent correspondence, if any, will be concerned with amplification rather than explanation and recrimination. The critic must cast a balance in his

mind of what is good in the play and what is not so good. His review will, or should, reflect that balance, so that the reader will be in no doubt as to whether, in the critic's opinion, merits outweigh defects, or vice-versa. The critic may generally approve, with reservations, but if those reservations are given undue prominence, the balance of the criticism will be upset, and the reader will be left with an impression quite different from what was intended. Hence, charges of injustice countered by angry denials.

Misunderstandings aside, Mr. Page and Mr. Dawtry are agreed, with everyone who has seen it, that "Now Barabbas" is a play of great social significance.

W. H. GELDER.

13 Denman Drive, N.W.11.

Bread is important

IF the purport of Mr. Hayward's article (Man's Whole Need) is "Man does not live by bread alone," then I agree and I am sorry if my words in the article "Challenge to Pacifists" gave an opposite impression.

I gladly join in stressing the importance of the spiritual in relation to the physical nature of Man, but prefer to regard life as a whole and not split it up into so much work and so much leisure. But my main points are unanswered. Man does need bread in order to live, and soon there may not be nearly enough of it to sustain this island's 40 million inhabitants.

Does Mr. Hayward object because I stress bread at such a critical time, and because I urge the moral responsibility upon us all to cut as little as we need from the "national loaf," and do all we can towards making it a bit larger, even though it means cutting our so-called leisure to a minimum.

"The problem is basically psychological," says Mr. Hayward. It is nothing of the sort. This problem is as material as any can be, and resolves itself into nothing more complex than two into one won't go. Had he queried the urgency of the problem or the seriousness of the impending economic breakdown, it would have been a different matter. The Duke of Bedford does this in effect in his letter in the same issue of PN,

and he raises important points, but I cannot see USA or any other country continuing to send us goods for nothing, even though they have a superfluity. Things were burnt or dumped into the sea before the war. Why expect a different attitude tomorrow? In any case, what kind of lives are we leading to be dependent for any length of time on gifts.

Dispute the facts if you will; disagree with me on the extent and effects of the impending disaster; otherwise let us face the position boldly and do something about it.

HAROLD GOODWIN.

Weston, Shortway,
Amersham, Bucks.

Entertaining PoWs

I HAVE often been accused of lacking a sense of humour, and perhaps that is why I took the recent insertion in PN under the above heading seriously. Perhaps it was meant ironically?

However, in the event of there being householders who need hints on how to entertain guests, I hasten to correct the impression that PoW's without exception prefer black coffee to tea with milk and sugar. These latter commodities are almost unknown in some of the camps, and the young PoW who is a regular visitor here, specially appreciates them in tea, coffee or what you will. As for the "Plain Food," prisoners get this in the camps—very plain, and not too much at that, so a little variety and a good fill up occasionally may be a welcome change.

I wonder if the "One who has arranged invitations" cooks special fare on the days when a German visits, or does he have his small plain meals and black coffee separately in the kitchen while the family eat their precious rations in the dining room, or perhaps he eats in solitary state and there is a feast of ordinary food after he has gone back to camp.

My visitor certainly plays table tennis, but it is enlightening to learn that the Nazis made such a thorough job of cutting their countrymen to pattern, that all PoWs play the same games and like the same things.

CONSTANCE SAVAGE.

High House,
Bromsash, Nr. Ross-on-Wye.

With faith undiminished

VALENTIN BULGAKOV—Private Secretary to Count Leo Tolstoy and a member of the Council of the War Resisters' International wrote of his wartime experiences to friends in Canada.

The War Resisters' International in forwarding a copy of this letter to Peace News said: "... we believe that we, as pacifists and war resisters, should be on our guard, lest in our anxiety to counteract the ogre of vengeance on the fallen foe we belittle and appear to condone what has taken place. We have to condemn all acts of brutality both in their grosser forms committed by the Nazis, and in their less spectacular forms committed by all nations, when collectively seeking power, or in their hour of fear."

"In the past years of war my family and I have had to go through very difficult times. First I was imprisoned for three months in the most frightful prison of the German Gestapo in Prague—this was the hardest time of all. Then I was set free, and six months later again arrested with my elder daughter, Tatiana, then 22 years old. She was accused of having belonged to a group of anti-Fascist Czech youth, and I had to bear responsibility for my daughter, and I was denounced as an anti-Fascist myself. The Germans indicted me also for belonging to the movement for Christian Communism.

My daughter was tortured in the prison to make her give the names of her political friends, which she refused to do. The warden, who was still quite young, pulled her hair and banged her head on the wall. He ordered her to lie on the floor face downwards, and then hit her on the soles of the feet with an iron bar, and he made her submerge her face in a bucket of water so that she could not breathe.

ONLY TWO STEPS

The warden did not do such things to me, but once I was subjected to a hundred interrogations, until my strength was exhausted, because on returning from a "walk" I did not at once recognise my own door among the many in the long corridor, and took two unnecessary steps past it, and then returned and disappeared into my cell.

My daughter was sent to the Ravensbruck concentration camp, in which tens of thousands of women of all nationalities were lodged. Her life was very hard; they were tortured with hunger, and had to work hard for twelve hours during the day, besides which they were hit with rubber truncheons, hunted by dogs, locked in the punishment bunker, etc. In my camp too, hunger and disease reigned, but a small number of lawyers of the Soviet Courts and of



Valentin Bulgakov

older intellectuals, to whom I belonged, were not put to hard work. All the Jews had to work, even when they were very old.

Later, with my daughter, I was sent in stages from one camp and prison to another—I was even handcuffed. How many persons in indescribable suffering and need have I seen on those journeys! In all these sufferings spiritual strength came to me in my prayers, and the knowledge that millions suffered with me, and the recognition that I have deserved this punishment through my failings and sins in my life.

HOME!

But one day we both joyously returned home. Tatiana was liberated by the soldiers of the Soviet Army, and I by the Americans. This, however, did not occur without anxiety. The moment when the retreating troops passed by us was extremely dangerous. At this time all inmates of prisons and concentration camps were driven on foot to the south. We had to flee together with the retreating German armies, and many lost their lives, but fate was kind to us.

While I was in the camp with my daughter, my wife was being oppressed in my home in Prague. She had not been arrested, because she had our youngest daughter Olga with her. She was, however, under the control of the police, and was forbidden to teach the Czechs Russian, by which she earned her living. But she carried on this work secretly and earned her own and Olga's daily bread. She was able to send food parcels to my daughter and me, which was allowed once a month. My daughter says she would have died from hunger in the camps long ago if it had not been for these parcels from her mother. Now we are all together at home again.

I am working in the Czech office of Information, in the Russian section. My wife has resumed her work in the pedagogical section. Certainly we are still useful to dear God in some way on this earth. We must

A FAREWELL PARTY

AFTER the annual meeting of the Central Board for CO's on April 12, an informal party was held in the Friends' Institute. Horace Fuller, a CO of the 1914-18 war, mystified the gathering with his conjuring tricks. A delightful musical programme was contributed by Olive Zorian (violin) accompanied by Norman Franklin at the piano. Olive Zorian was equally at home in contrasted works by Mozart, Debussy and Rimsky-Korsakov.

At the end of the concert Fenner Brockway, the chairman of the Board, paid tribute to the work of Jack Carruthers and Graham Wiggs who had left the employment of the Board and to Denis Hayes, who will be leaving at the end of April. Fenner Brockway said he never ceased to be amazed that a body of people with such divergent views as those composing the Board could work together so amicably. "I don't remember us ever having any angry words, which is more than can be said about other organisations—many of them pacifist in outlook—with which some of us are connected."

When replying Denis Hayes, Jack Carruthers and Graham Wiggs emphasised various reasons for the success of the Board—the unselfish work of many voluntary helpers, the team-spirit throughout the organisation and the very efficient standards set by Nancy Browne, the first Secretary of the Board.

Can you help?

PEACE NEWS receives a number of enquiries from people who are anxious to see the paper regularly, but for various reasons cannot send subscriptions.

A recent card from Germany is typical. It reads "I got from my clergyman the copy of Peace News. I read it with great interest, and was delighted very much. Alas, where to get your Peace News? I would be very glad if a reader of PN would send me sometimes his copy after reading it. Would it be possible?"

Would it? We believe many readers would welcome the opportunity of sending their copy on to a comrade abroad and enclosing other papers too—or it may be a less fortunate fellow in this country. If you would like to help, please send your name and address to the Manager, Peace News, Ltd., 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

carry on our service for Him right to the end.

I embrace you fraternally, dear Friend and brother, and beg you to give the most profound thankfulness of my family and myself to all brothers and sisters there and to greet all with the warmest wishes.

Your brother,

VALENTIN BULGAKOV.

PEACE TAX V. WAR TAX

FROM Norway comes a proposal that might cause a flutter in the military dovescotes. Do you believe that the accumulation of armaments leads inevitably to war, not peace? Then, says a member of the Oslo Peace Society, you must refuse to pay that portion of your taxes which is allocated to the Ministry of Defence.

There is nothing new about that idea. But the scheme has other points. In the first place, the money which the War Minister loses is to be paid into a National Peace Fund, and the Peace Fund is to be administered by a Council elected by all contributors. Secondly, the whole process will be made lawful by having two clauses added to the Income Tax Returns—(1) Do you want to pay tax for armaments? ... (2) Do you want an equivalent portion of your taxes to go to the Peace Fund? ...

The Norwegian budget for 1946-47 gives 13½ per cent. of the total expenditure to military purposes. At a recent Gallup Poll it was found that 7 per cent. of the population did not believe in the efficacy of armaments. If the 7 per cent. were to pay 13½ per cent. of their taxes to the Peace Fund, nearly three million kroner would be at the disposal of the Council. If the British taxpayer were faced with a similar alternative, how large an axe would Mr. Alexander have to wield?

CROYDON TO SEE "CANDIDA"

THE North London Players, whose production of George Bernard Shaw's "Candida" will be given at the Adult School Hall, Park Lane, Croydon on May 7 is, said a well-known drama critic, "one of the three best amateur drama companies in the country."

The company is sponsored by two London Borough Councils as part of their local cultural activities and produces plays at quarterly intervals which are usually toured in different areas of North and East London.

Producer Leslie F. Pitt, who plays the part of Marchbanks in "Candida," was at the Guildhall School, the Everyman Theatre and the "Q" Theatre, and his wide experience enables him to obtain the best from his players.

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or PPU connexion with, the matter advertised.

PLEASE READ CAREFULLY
LATEST TIME for copy: Monday before publication.

TERMS: Cash with order, 3d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Maximum length: 60 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date. We reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.

MEETINGS, &c.

BUDDHIST Annual Festival of Wesak, Mon., May 5, 7.30 p.m. Public Meeting, Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq. Spkrs.: Mr. C. Jinajadasa (President, Theosophical Society), Miss Clare Cameron (Editor "The Middle Way"), Mr. Christmas Humphreys (President, Buddhist Society). Books will be on sale. Gifts of flowers welcomed.

CROYDON, Adult School Hall, Park Lane, Wed. May 7, 7.15 p.m. North London Players in Shaw's "Candida," in aid of No-Conscription Council funds. Tickets 4s., 3s., 2s. Rooms 16, Kingsway Hall, W.C.2.

LONDON, W.C.1, 8 Endsleigh Gdns. Discussion lectures every Sun., 7.30. Ap. 27: "Should we Revise Anarchism?" M. L. Berneri. May 4: "Anarchism and Human Nature," Tony Gibson. London Anarchist Group.

LONDON, W.C.1, 7.30 p.m. May 2: Tony Bishop, WRI member for Australia, Editor of the Peacemaker. May 9: "London Quaint and Curious," Bert Banyard. May 16: "The Significance of D. H. Lawrence," Edward Gilbert. May 23: "The Closed Shop," Donald Port. May 30: "Music," Nan Baynes. Central London Group PPU.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

NORTH FINCHLEY, Christchurch Hall, High Rd. (nr. Tally Ho Corner), Thurs., May 1, 8 p.m., showing of "While Germany Waits," F.R.S. Sound Film.

PRESTON, PPU Room, 29a Church St. (opposite the Ritz Cinema), May 3, 3 p.m. "Pacifism," Frank Lea. North West Area Conference.

SHEFFIELD, Longshaw Lodge Cafe, Derby, Sat., May 3, 3 p.m. John Barclay speaks.

ACCOMMODATION

FURN. OFFICE to let at Peace News, Convenient for City and West End. All services. Apply Manager, Peace News Ltd., 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

SITE FOR private camping offered—reasonable. All amenities available. Full parties. from: Hands, Tenterden Rd., Biddenden, Kent.

VICTOR & MAY Smith, The Conifers Guest Hse., Selsey, Sussex. Open throughout year. Vacancies May and from last week Sept. Illustrated brochure on application.

DERBYSHIRE HILLS, Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House for happy holidays or restful recuperation, all modern comforts. A. and K. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Matlock. (Station: Ambergate. Tel.: Ambergate 44).

PERRANPORTH, CORNWALL, nr. sea. Homely holiday acmdn. Sadler, Penwortha.

EDUCATIONAL

SPEAKING AND WRITING lessons (correspondence, or visit) 6s., classes 1s. 6d. Dorothy Matthews, 3.A., 82 Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.8. PRIMROSE 5686.

FOR SALE & WANTED

YOUNG MAN wishes contact others interested buying farm develop as Guest House. Invest £1,000—£2,000. Partnership or new venture. Any small proposition considered. Congenial life more important than fortune. Box 671.

NYLON SILK Parachute Material, no coupons, long panels cut from new parash., white only, ideal for making underwear, blouses, night-dresses, curtains, price 25s. parcel, postage 8d. Celic & Co. (Dept. 774), Chestnut Avenue, Bedford.

DARKON YOUR hair. Grey hair is ageing—a social, psychological and commercial handicap. "Darkon Pomade" darkens grey hair, safely and naturally. Price 5s. per pot, post free. Remit P.O. to The Hygienic Stores Ltd., Dept. 35, 95 Charing Cross Rd., London, W.C.2.

WAR RESISTERS' International wd. welcome gifts of foreign stamps for subsequent sale on behalf of W.R.I. funds. Any such gift received with gratitude. Pl. send to the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Rd., Baffield.

AMERICAN GEC mains radio, perfect. Light programme unobtainable Western Counties. £13. Box 622.

LITERATURE, &c.

FREE LIBRARY of the best books on Truth—New Thought Unity, Science of Thought and Spiritual Healing, etc. Free postal service. Library list from Christian Truth Fellowship, 18 North Side, London, S.W.4.

QUAKERISM, Information and Literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee Friends' House, Euston Rd., London

PERSONAL

YOUNG MAN, Christian, aged 29, pacifist, wishes to contact community with a view to joining with same. Box 670.

THINKERS' CLASS, The New Messiah. His message! Heaven here and now! John MacLean, M.A. martyred Glasgow socialist school teacher in Edinburgh High Court 1916. "The working class, when they rise for their own, are more dangerous to capitalists than even the German enemies at your gates." Katharine MacDonald, D.P.Sc., Ps.F. (Registered Psychologist, Naturopath), 6 Lansdowne Cres., Glasgow

LONELY? JOIN Friendship Circle. Details 6d. Secretary, 34 Honeywell Rd., London, S.W.11.

BUDDHISM, A profound philosophy with a simple everyday application. Public Lecture Wednesdays 6.30 p.m. Write The Buddhist Society, 106 Great Russell St., W.C.1. See also special meeting announced this issue.

CONTACT CLUB, Congenial pen friendships for all. Parties, stp. Sec., P.N. 19 Ty Fry Gdns., Rumney Cardiff.

ASTROLOGY—A free Test Horoscope. Helpful advice and guidance. Send Birthdate, stamped-addressed envelope. The Psycho-Success Institute (A.28), 64 Aldermanbury, London, E.C.2.

SITUATIONS VACANT

HELP REQUIRED on market garden: caravan, vegetables and £2 per wk. offered. Good surroundings. Christian vegetarian preferred. Box 672.

WANTED, TWO girls for house-keeping on co-operative farm. Poultry or other outdoor wk. if desired. Scope for ideas and initiative. Would suit two friends. Gothic Farm, Haveringham, Halesworth, Suffolk.

HOME-LOVERS job. Large, centrally heated semi-basement rm. in very nice hse. (Hampstead) offered to married couple in part return for wife's services, mainly morning, and emergency help from husband. Fairly easy job to capable active woman. Good refs. essential. M., 88 Archway Rd., N.6.

SITUATIONS and WORK WANTED

PEACE NEWS office would be grateful for voluntary assistance. Light despatch wk. (Thursdays), miscellaneous routine other days. Fares pd. Please write or phone the Manager, Peace News Ltd. (Stamford Hill 2262), 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

FIRST CLASS duplicating of all descriptions, typewriting, etc. Mabel Eyles, 2 Aberdeen Park, Highbury, N.5. Tel. Canonbury 3862.

MISCELLANEOUS

A WORD to the sailing. Do not despair. Start today. Send for two 20-page booklets of encouraging life-conserving information about Gullie, which comes nearer to a universal remedy than any thing given by Nature for the use of man. Send stamps 5d. to Allyol Company, Fairlight, Sussex.

DUPLICATING, TYPEWRITING, 1s. 3d. per 1,000 words. Lowes, 4 Percy Garden Ctges., Tynemouth, Northumberland.

ACCOUNTANT C.O. writes up traders bks.; attends to all Income Tax matters; company formation; audits and costing. Provincial clients visited without obligation. Box 96.

INSURANCES TRANSACTED. All classes. Profitable life and endowment policies. Enquiries welcomed. R. C. Horwood, Turvey, Bedford.

Moral law entirely repudiated

MAY DAY MEETING IN HYDE PARK

THE London Area are taking the opportunity afforded by May Day Sunday to put the pacifist point of view before the public in Hyde Park. A meeting will be held at 3 p.m., addressed by Sybil Morrison, Bernard Taylor and others.

We rely wholly on your support for the success of this meeting. We believe you will agree with London Area Council in wanting the PPU to be represented on such an occasion. If this is so please come, sell Peace News outside the park gates, or display a banner. Gwyneth Anderson, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1. (EUS. 4637/5501) would be glad to hear from you.

Germans Plan New Church

German architects — prisoners of war interned at Lodge Moor, near Sheffield—have prepared four sets of plans for rebuilding a Sheffield church destroyed in air raids in 1940, reports the Manchester Guardian. They formed part of an exhibition of plans and drawings for churches which the Sheffield Diocese proposes to build through its "Church in Action" campaign. Opening the exhibition at Sheffield recently, Lord Halifax said he thought that the German's plans were good contributions.

Words of Peace - No. 208

CONQUERING

"To defeat a nation with our armies and leave it crushed, rebellious, resentful, angry, is not to conquer it. It will not stay defeated so. We ourselves would not so stay defeated. Real conquering is ultimately a spiritual matter, the inner conquest of a nation by the persuasive forces of justice, fair play, goodwill, until the nation's soul voluntarily surrenders to a world policy that is good for all."

—H. E. Fosdick, in "A Great Time to be Alive."

WORK FOR PEACE THROUGH IYSP

Hear about relief teams and international work camps from Victor Gollancz, Patrick Figgis, Jean Inebnit and Michael Lubbock, at Conway Hall, April 29, at 7.30 p.m. International Voluntary Service for Peace.

11a St. Andrew's Rd., London, E.13.

GOOSE GREEN FARM LIMITED

List of Members

Certain members have failed to advise the Secretary of their change of address. Will any member who has not received a copy of the Report for 1946 kindly write to Vincent Burston, 6 King Square, Bridgwater.

To help your study of Atomic power

**Atomic Warfare
and the Christian Faith** price 6d.

Report of the Commission appointed by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

**Co-operate
or Die** price 6d.

A Study on World Resources and the Discovery of the Atomic Bomb.
by DR. WILLIAM AGAR.

**Man versus
the Atom** price 1s.

by Karlén Capper-Johnson.
Obtainable from:

Friends' Peace Committee,
Friends' House,
Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

COMMENTARY CONTINUED

officials of Soviet Russia tends to confirm this supposition, and that there is no convincing evidence against it. I am therefore forced to the conclusion that the Soviet system is the most radical challenge that Western civilisation has ever had, or ever will have, to meet: a challenge the more formidable because it is aided by the disintegrating activities of Communists and "fellow-travellers" within the free societies. If that is so, then the pacifism which advocates appeasement of, or submission to, this fearful engine of power which entirely repudiates the moral law is as morally corrupt as are the political attitudes of the Russophil Left with which it associates itself.

Since that is my conviction, which has gradually grown in me over a period of twenty years, during which I have studied the Marxist philosophy and its manifestation in Russia as closely (I believe) as any man, and with a greater desire than most to find the good and mitigate the evil in it, I cannot forsake it, or conceal it. Moreover, since the problem of Russia completely overshadows all others and is really identical with the problem of world-peace, it is inevitable that my convictions should be constantly manifest in such a commentary as this; and, I fear, equally inevitable that they should be profoundly unsympathetic to many pacifists. It may be that (as some suspect) they are incompatible with pacifism itself, as that is generally understood.

Six years of illusion

AT any rate, the time has come for me to retire; and there could be no more appropriate moment for my withdrawal than the complete failure of the Moscow Peace Conference; at which the issue has been whether totalitarian Russia should be permitted to obtain a complete stranglehold on Germany and Austria. Britain and America have rejected the iniquitous claim. Six years of the illusion that friendly and peaceful relations between Russia and the West are possible have come to their appointed end.

GEO. F. DUTCH

THE "G. F. Dutch Defence Committee" has been set up to bring to the notice of trade unionists and labour party members the renewed persecution of G. F. Dutch, a prospective Presidential candidate for 1947, by the responsible authorities of the London Co-operative Society. Recently he was demoted from Branch management to a lower position.

The Hon. Sec. of the newly-formed Committee is H. J. Brading, 6 Cambridge Avenue, Gidea Park, Romford, Essex.

The L.C.S. Elections are to be held on May 3 from 10 a.m., full notices being displayed at all the Society's halls and shops.

Ten Years Ago

From Peace News, April 24, 1937

The (Japanese) Social Mass Party (Labour) issued an election manifesto on April 14 declaring that the Military Estimates menaced the country and ended with the slogan: "Smash Fascism." There were 65 Labour candidates out of a total of 799.

Entitled "Today is M-Day" ("M" stands for mobilisation), the leaflet contains the following extracts:

"We are the youth of America... You can't kid us! The nations value their gold more than their sons. Again they rearm for war and youth marches to death while their elders cheer."

FRIENDSHIP VISITS ABROAD 1947

MAY TO SEPTEMBER
INTERNATIONAL CENTRES IN
Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark,
Finland, France, Holland, Italy, Norway,
Sweden.

Youth Club Leaders please note:
Special Youth Weeks in Montreux,
Switzerland
£16 10 0 Fortnight
(Correction to previous advertisement
of £13 3 0)

Particulars from Travel Secretary, P.N.2
International Friendship League,
33 Gordon Square, London, W.C.1.

AID FROM EIRE

THE Mayor of Limerick received the following letter from an Austrian mother recently, reports the Irish Times, April 3, thanking Ireland for gifts of food sent to her country: "Sir, she who writes this letter to you is an Austrian living in Vienna with her husband and son. I entrust this letter to you as the representative of the inhabitants of a big and well-known Irish town, because I want you to know and tell your countrymen that millions of people in Austria, men and women, as well as children, feel in their heart of hearts for the good people of Eire."

"Can a few words express our thankfulness? We are being fed with newspaper reports about UNRRA activity, but meanwhile we starve. We live beside giant States so rich and so powerful, yet we find Ireland, whose history is so well known to us, sending us magnanimous gifts, gifts that charm and give a glimpse of joy to many a pale-faced child."

"Everybody here is wondering how it is possible for a country, so small compared with the mighty of the world, to send the starving Austrians sugar and meat in such quantities. We thank your country from our hearts and we long for your people to know this for we feel that your gifts come from the depths of blessed hearts."

Post-war food production

"The US Department of Agriculture reports food production in 1946-7 as about equal to that of 1935-9 but in the meantime the world's population has increased by seven or eight per cent."

After Dr. D. A. Fitzgerald, secretary-general of the International Emergency Council had opened a recent speech with that statement he added:

"There are a great many differences between the situation now and the situation in 1920. World War I was truly a world war. World War II was not. This distinction is frequently overlooked. World War II affected the Pacific in a manner entirely different from World War I. In the earlier war, there was an accumulation of production in such important surplus-producing areas as Siam, Burma, Dutch East Indies and the Philippines because of the shortage of ocean shipping. As soon as shipping became available, these supplies moved into the world's markets and quickly overcame the shortages that previously existed."

NEW PPU AREA REPRESENTATIVES

IRELAND—Tom Finnegan.
SCOTLAND—Allister Steven Campbell Wilkie (Deputy)
LAKELAND—John H. Burnett
NORTH EAST—David R. Hughes
NORTH WESTERN—B. Whalley Sidwell
YORKSHIRE—Will Green
WALES—Rev. D. R. Thomas
Gwilym Pritchard
WEST MIDLAND—Ronald Hand
EAST MIDLAND—C. Vernon Cutting
EAST ANGLIA—Frank Sayer
SOUTH MIDLAND—Arthur Bayntun
WESTERN—Tom Wolfe
BUCKS, BERKS & OXON—Russell Everett
LONDON—(Mrs.) Molly Barlex
CORNWALL & DEVON—G. C. Maddever
SOUTHERN—Sydney G. Conbeer
SOUTH EASTERN—Philip Millwood

Peace News in Braille

One of our Bucks readers each week gives a deaf and blind friend a list of the contents of PN in Braille.

From this summary the blind friend chooses the articles she would like to read in full, the copies then go the round of a circle of a dozen or so deaf-blind people.

LONDON CENTRE FOR WEST INDIANS

Dr. Harold Moody, London president of the League of Coloured Peoples, launched a drive in Jamaica recently for a £50,000 cultural centre in London for West Indians. The Governor of Jamaica presided at the inaugural meeting.

Consultations by appointment

TOM KEELL WOLFE

Registered Naturopath

Graduate of Edinburgh School of
Natural Therapeutics
21 Promenade, Cheltenham, Glos.

A NEW WORK

ONE might almost say that the PPU Annual General Meeting opened on Friday evening, when Peter Pears and Benjamin Britten performed Schubert's song-cycle, "Die Schöne Müllerin," in a recital, arranged by John Amis in aid of the War Resisters' International, at Friends' House. There were hundreds there whose cheers and clapping were an expression of affection for two fellow-pacifists as well as a tribute to two notable musicians. There was a friendly welcome, too, from this audience for Laurence Housman, who appealed from the platform for WRI funds.

It was a pity that the many AGM visitors who enjoyed this recital could not be at the Albert Hall the following afternoon, to hear John Hunt with the London Symphony Orchestra under Charles Hambourg give the first performance of a Piano Concerto by another ex-C.O., William Wordsworth.

This work was performed with a skill and earnestness that it deserves, for it is earnest music. William Wordsworth's values, musical and spiritual, are no catchpenny ones, but substantial and enduring, and they are distilled more personally into this Concerto than into any earlier work of his. Perhaps some readers who could not hear it will hear another new work by Rim, a String Trio, to be played by the Carter String Trio on two successive days; on May 14 at lunchtime at Wigmore Hall (1st performance) and on May 15 at 6.30 p.m. at St. Bartholomew's Church, Smithfield. D.H.

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